

Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy A Story of Success and Controversies

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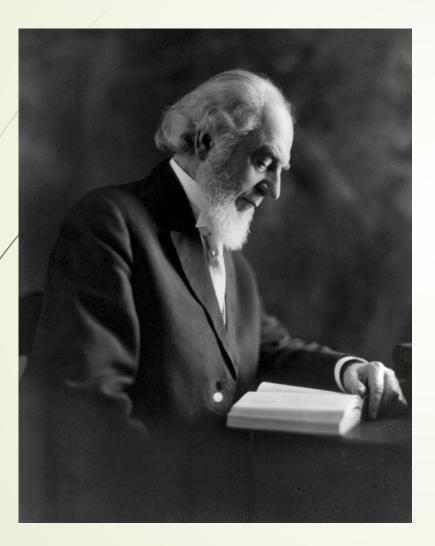
*I gratefully acknowledge the monumental historical work of Mr. Emanuele Pace, from where come most pictures of the first part

A Success Story



In 2015, Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy had 2,998 congregations, 1,370 Kingdom's Halls, 250,277 average publishers preaching each month, and those attending the yearly memorial were 435,046. Italy remains one of the most spectacular success stories of Jehovah's Witnesses internationally

Russell's First Visit to Italy



- Initially, Charles Taze Russell (1852-1916, left) did not foresee that success. He visited Italy in 1891, and reported that the country was so deeply controlled by the Catholic Church that a mission there was almost impossible
- In June 1903, however, Russell visited Europe for the second time and led a conference in Zurich, Switzerland, with two Italians among the 170 participants. Who were they?

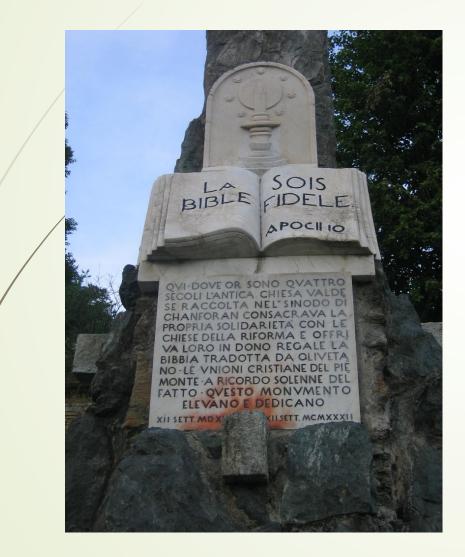
The Waldensian Connection

- We do not know for sure, but they were most probably members of the Waldensian Church, who had not joined the Bible Students but were interested in Russell's ideas
- The Waldensian Church originates from a reformist group founded by a Catholic merchant of Lyon called Waldo (ca. 1140-1205: the name «Peter Waldo» comes from later legends and he was never called Peter during his lifetime)



19th-century statue of Waldo, Worms, Germany

Waldensians and the Reformation



 Waldo was excommunicated in 1184 for his radical ideas about poverty and the laypersons' role in the Church.
 Persecuted in France, Waldensians moved to the valleys of Piedmont, and in 1532 at the Synod of Chanforan joined the Calvinist Reformation

The Waldensian Myth ...

OF THE WALDENSES, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

HISTORY

By the author of the lives of Wickliffe, Huss, Jerome, &c.

entried, "Alta Area trapplementation to

REVISED BY THE COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION OF THE AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

AMERICAN SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION. PHILADELPHIA: NO. 146 CHESNUT STREET.

1829.

- Several 19th-century new religious movements, including the Seventh-day Adventists and the Mormons, read about the Waldensians and believed that these brave «oldest Protestants» were ready to convert to their new truth
- When they sent missionaries to the Waldensian valleys, however, they discovered that real-life Waldensians were part of an isolated people very much attached to its traditions. Conversions were rare

... and Reality

It was true, however, that in the late 19th and early 20th century the Waldensian Church was experiencing an intellectual revival. Some Waldensians were interested in reading and even translating into Italian Pastor Russell's writings. Through Waldensians Daniele Rivoire (1858-1911) and, later, Pastor Giuseppe Banchetti (1866-1926), an Italian edition of the Zion's Watch Tower started being published in 1903 as La Vedetta di Sion e l'Araldo della Presenza di Cristo



11 desiderato di tutti i popoli.

 Noi sappiamo che fino ad ora tutto il mondo creato geme insieme et ravaglia, aspettando la manifestazione dei figliuoli di Dio. »
 E la scetta (1) di tutte le nazioni vertà ». (Rom. VIII, 22-19; Aggeo II, 7).

Icco come l'apostolo e il profeta priviferiscone ai mali della terra e al gran rimedio chè ildio ha preparato e che deve esser adoperato ben tosto. Nessuno che abbia l'esperienza della vita o che sia famigliarizzato colla storia vorrà contestare l'esattezza della dichiarzione apostolica. E la dichiarzione del profeta, che iddio stabilirà fra breve un regno di giustizia sulla terra, (il quale una volta chiaramente compreso, sarà infatti l'oggetto della brama di tutte le nazioni), vien confermata dalla testimonianza di tutti gli apostoli e di tutti i profeti (Fatti III, 19-21). — Nessuno adunque, che creda alla dichiarzione.

Le sofferenze e i gemiti di tutte le creature'son cagionati dal peccato; giacchè ogni corruzione morale e degradazione fisica che direttamente o indirettamente cagionano i dolori ed i gemiti dell'umanità sono una parte del castigo del peccato. L'umanità è adunque soggetta alla decadenza, ed essa soffre ad un tempo individualmente e collettivamente. I suoi governi sempre imperfetti e spesso ingiusti, come pure i suoi dolori ed i suoi mali, del corpo e dello spirito, sono le conseguenze naturali della sua condizione imperfetta e decaduta. Benchè gli uomini possano lavorare al loro proprio miglioramento, i loro sforzi, per quanto buoni siano si chiariscono deboli e spasmodici; essi sono del tutto incapaci di superare se stessi per uscire dalle loro difficoltà. I loro vari successi ottenuti in quella direzione altro non sono che sforzi futili, come vien provato in modo decisivo dai sei mill'anni trascorsi.

(1) La brama, il desiderio. - Vedi vers. Bagster e vers.

Inglese.

usciti mai a stabilire un governo perfetto o a metter fine ai gemiti, o a far cessare i pianti della razza umana; essi non hanno potuto ricondurre quest'ultima all'immagine spirituale, morale e fisica di Dio, tal quale essa fu creata e rappresentata già in Adamo. Malattie di ogni specie la rodono fisicamente. Non è che febbri ardenti, ulceri roditrici, cancri orrendi, piaghe schifose, malattie di sangue avvelenato; sonovi sempre degli occhi ciechi, delle orecchie sorde, delle lingue mute, delle reni e delle membra fiacche e quante e quante altre malattie e deformità fisiche. Intellettualmente, la condizione degli uomini e pegginer forza, e farlo re:/ posseggono più la ragione, altri ? auoizeu eun ai! in tutta la razza non v'è un solo individuo che dir si. possa perfettamente equilibrato. La condizione morale non meno è deplorevole; l'egoismo, l'avidità, l'orgoglio, l'amor di apparire, l'odio, la malvagità la maldicenza, l'inganno, l'invidia, l'ubbriachezza, la guerra, l'omicidio, l'impudicizia fanno uscire sospiri strazianti dalle labbra di millioni d'individui, vedove abbandonate, orfani senza protezioni, madri cariche di dolori, padri sgomenti ed amici disillusi continuano a piangere sulle tombe di

speranze sepolte e di vane ambizioni trapassate. Un arco di promesse.

Veramente è sempre ancora una creazione gemente; e non pertanto, al dire dell'apostolo, essa non è senza speranza; essa aspetta un non so che, qualche cosa di simile ad una panacea per le malattie, i dolori, le pene e la morte, un governo giusto ed equo che trarrà il più povero e misero dal fango dell'ignoranza e dell'impurità per elevarlo all'agiatezza, alla felicità, e ai godimenti della vita. Essa è nell'aspettazione d'un « buon tempo a venire », d'un « età dell'oro », età che hanno sognata e cantata con accenti pieni di calore e d'entusiasmo perfino dei poeti e dei filosofi pagani. E taluni afferrando un'accordo dell'ispirazione divina, senza sapere in qual modo ciò si realizzerà, cantano di quel millennio benedetto:

Quar	do unite	e tutte v	iver pot	ran le geni	ti,
Ē tu	ta ingiu	stizia pa	ssata.	1	1
			illumina	ta	
		I'E-len			

Waldensians and Witnesses

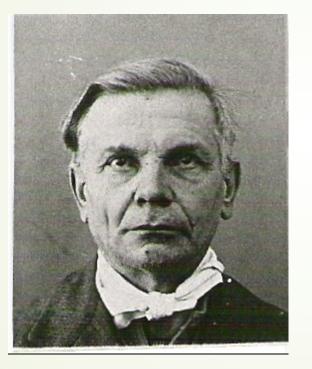


Ouveages reque

mm

UGO JANNI. Il Dogma dell'Eucaristia e la Ragione cristiana. Roma, Casa Editrice « La Speranza », 1904.
(214 p. 8⁰). Prezzo : L. 1,25.
Una guida per coloro che studiano la Bibbia. Il Divino Piano delle Età. Tradotto dall'inglese. Pinerolo, Tipografia Sociale, 1904 (400 p.) Prezzo : L. 1,50. — Legato. 2,50. Rivoire completed in 1904 an Italian translation of Russell's Plan of the Ages. It was advertised in the local press of the Waldensian Valleys (left), but most of the copies were shipped to Pastor Russell for distribution among Italian Americans.
 Rivoire and Banchetti remained
 Waldensians and never became Bible Students

Waldensian Converts



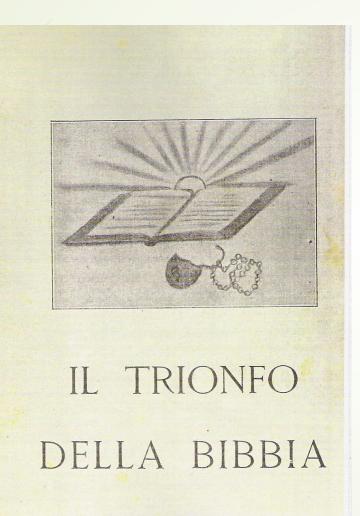
Eventually, however, a handful of Waldensians from the Valleys converted, including Giosuè Vittorio Paschetto (1889-1956, left)

The First Congregation

The first congregation was inaugurated in Pinerolo in 1908 and included Catholics living in the Waldensian Valleys who had in turn converted, such as Remigio Cuminetti (1890-1939: right, with his wife). He later became the first Italian leader of the Bible Students



The Triumph of the Bible



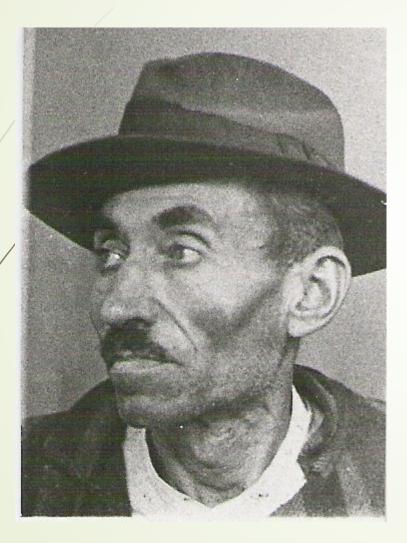
- In 1910, Russell preached in Italy for his first and last time at the YMCA in Rome to some twenty Protestants: none converted.
- The activity remained concentrated in Piedmont, where the Bible Students published in 1915 an original – and perhaps not entirely orthodox – booklet called The Triumph of the Bible

World War I

With World War I, legal troubles started. Bible Students were attacked for their anti-war position and Cuminetti, as a conscientious objector, was sentenced to three and a half years in jail (decision of August 18, 1916, right)

N. 309 d'ordine Data 18 aquesto 1916 104 Mal Reg. Processi Con Pularatoria la pena e vitotto a Il Tribunale Militare Territoriale di Alessandria COMPOSTO DEI SIGNORI Vivali Ear. Automio Demante Colourello Lugano Cai Francesco Maggiores : Giudia Gallina Cai Dionigi Bobbio Carl Carlo Mapuaris Ear Gusephy Plavani Lid Gaudio Bothold and Lovonico - Sch SENTENZA NELLA CAUSA CONTRO Cuminetti Remigio & Lazzaro nato il 1º h. glio 1890 a Ciserna (Tinerolo), collandatore meccanico, alfabeta incensurato, soldeto nel 33: Megg danteria Detenuto Dal 31-5-1916 3 3 Imputato di Rifinto d'obbedienza in tempo & guerra a uni degl arte 112, 113 C. I. 8 e 2 9. L 31 024 form 1915 puchi in Cuneo e nel magazino 200 33º Regg fonterio avendo il 25 maggi 1916.

Returned Migrants

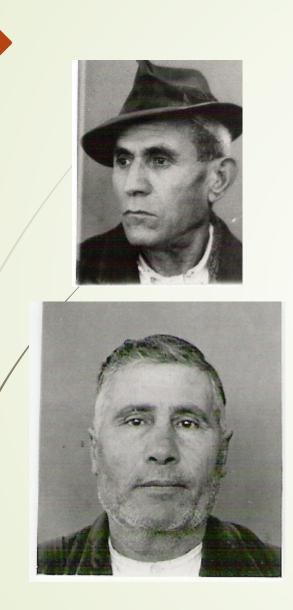


After World War I, Bible Students – later to be named Jehovah's Witnesses – acquired their first Italian members outside Piedmont. They were Italian Americans who had converted in the United States and returned to their native villages, where they started congregations. One leading such figure was Marcello Martinelli (1881-1960, left) who returned in 1919 from Hartford, Connecticut, to Castione Andevenno, north of Milan

The First Non-Waldensian Convert

24 Rarenna Pacifico 10 mel il labouer you in Adia Chiechio 1

However, the first non-Waldensian Bible Student active in Italy (even before Cuminetti) may well have been Pacifico Marenna (1883-1971), who emigrated from Faicchio (province of Benevento, near Naples: see immigration record) to New York in 1899, converted there, and returned to Faicchio in 1904

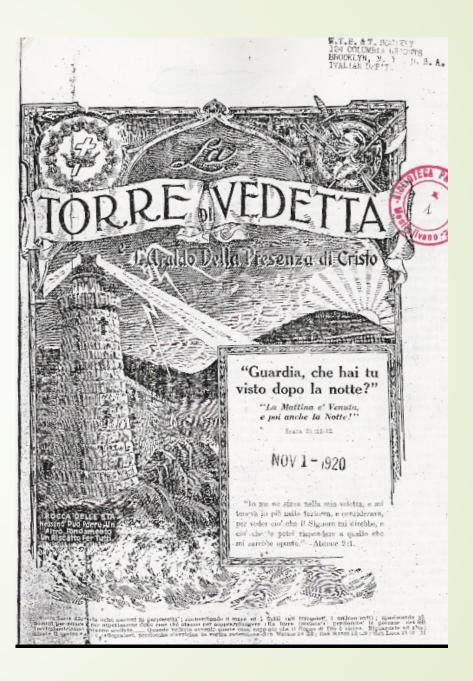


Congregations in the South

Returned migrants also created the first congregations in Central and Southern Italy. They included Vincenzo Pizzoferrato (1881-1949, above) who returned from Hartford to Pratola Peligna, in the Southern region of Abruzzi; Michele Cavalluzzo (1880-1946, below), who returned from Buffalo to Pietrelcina, the Southern town famous as birthplace of the Catholic saint Padre Pio (1887-1968); and Pietro Benincasa (1881-1961), who had converted in Chicago and returned to his Sicilian village of Alimena, near Palermo

A National Movement

In the early 1920s, the movement had between 50 and 100 members in nine different Italian regions: almost all those in the North, and Marche, Abruzzo, Campania and Sicily. The first Italian version of The Watch Tower, La Vedetta di Sion, lasted only from 1903 to 1909. From 1917 on, a new version called La Torre di Vedetta was published in the U.S., and circulated also in Italy



Italian Branch

AVVISO AI FRATELLI IN ITALIA

Un ramo della Società è stato ora aperto a Pinerolo, Prov. Torino, Italia, il rappresentante del quale, è: REMIGIO CUMINETTI, con altri fratelli che assisteranno a facilitare il lavoro all'Estero.

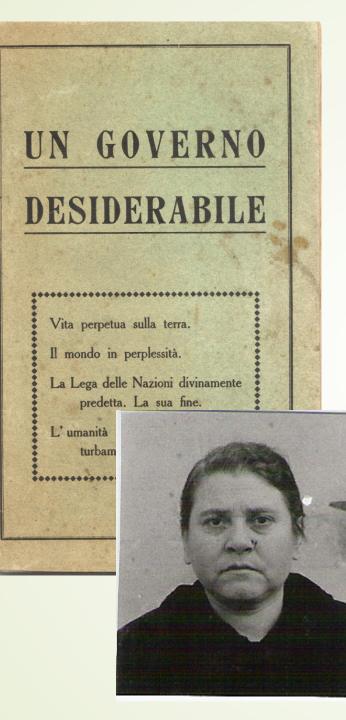
In detto ramo vi saranno depositi di libri e trattati della Società, per venderli e mandarli ai fratelli residenti in Italia e circo vicino.

Tutti i fratelli ed amici che resiedeno all'Estero, potranno ottenere libri e tratti direttamente da quell'ufficio, senza scrivere a noi qui in America. Potranno quindi, mandare lì, gli ordini, con l'importo, tanto per i libri come pure per l'abbonamento della TORRE DI GUARDIA. Indirizzante le lettere a nome della Società, nel seguente modo ed al seguente indirizzo:

> TORRE DI GUARDIA SOCIETÀ BIBBIE E TRATTATI

VIA SILVIO PELLICO 11 PINEROLO, PROV. TORINO, ITALIA.

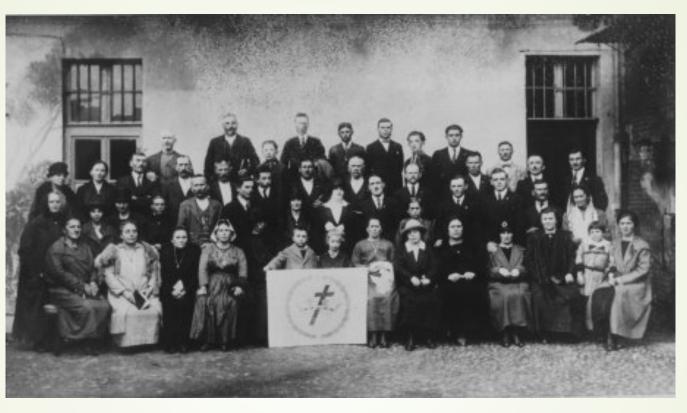
In 1923, Cuminetti and Martinelli toured the Italian congregations. The Italian field looked promising, and Swiss missionaries were sent to help. In 1923, the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society opened an Italian office in Cuminetti's home in the Waldensian Valleys. In 1924, the Watch Tower announced the official opening of the Italian branch, with Cuminetti as national representative



The Fascist Regime

From 1922, however, Italy was under the Fascist regime. Italian translations of booklets by Joseph Franklin Rutherford (1869-1942) criticizing all human governments (above) determined the reaction of the Fascist police. Eventually, it arrested some local leaders, including Caterina Di Marco (1895-1982, below), a migrant returned from Philadelphia to the Abruzzi

The First Assembly (1925)



The Fascist repression led to the demise of some congregations. A report from 1925 lists 60 attending the memorial in six congregations, but probably a number of congregations were missing. Notwithstanding the problems, on April 23-26 the Italian branch celebrated in Pinerolo its first assembly, with a visitor from Brooklyn, the Canadian Alexander Hugh Macmillan (1877-1966), and with Cuminetti marrying one of the Swiss missionaries during the first day of the assembly

Fascist Reaction

In September 1925, the regime reacted to the assembly by arresting the first Bible Students, including Martinelli. The office in Pinerolo was closed and a second one, opened in Milan in 1932, was also closed by the police after a few months. The police also kept track of most Italian Bible Students (see record for Luigi D'Angelo, 1897-1936, right, a very active returned migrant and leader in Spoltore, near Pescara)





Persecution

- In 1934, Jehovah's Witnesses' literature was banned in Italy. In total, 83 Witnesses were committed to trial and sent to jail, or interned without process, in Italy, between 1925 and 1944. Almost all Witnesses were personally persecuted, including women: Maria Maddalena Pizzato (1897-1986, left) was sentenced to 11 years in jail
- Some Catholic priests played a role in denouncing the Witnesses to the police, and those sentenced were rehabilitated only in the late 1950s

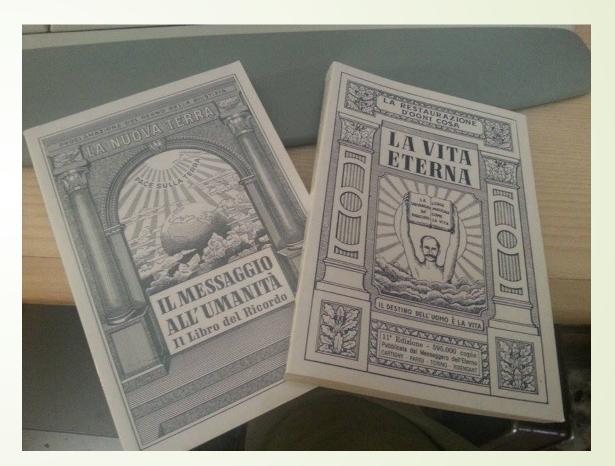
Schisms



Quite apart from Fascist persecution, another problem for Italian Witnesses was the anti-Rutherford reaction in the United States and Switzerland, from where schisms were imported into Italy. One of the largest anti-Rutherford schisms developed in 1928 among Italian Americans Witnesses in Hartford (Connecticut) with Gaetano Boccaccio (1906-1996) as the Christian Millennial Fellowship, and acquired followers in Italy. It keeps some 100 Italian members with national headquarters in Pescara

The Church of the Kingdom of God

More successful in Italy was the Church of the Kingdom of God, or Philanthropic Assembly of the Friends of Man, founded by the former Swiss leader of the Bible Students, Alexander Freytag (1870-1947), who criticized both Rutherford and some of Russell's ideas. Sebastiano Chiardola (1914-1993) founded in 1946 in Turin the Italian branch, which keeps 18 congregations and around one thousand active followers



A «Russellite» Network



Another group loyal to Russell and rejecting Rutherford's innovations, the Dawn Bible Students Associations founded by W. Norman Woodworth (1891-1976), sent missions to Italy and organized some twenty groups in the 1950s and 1960s. Some went back to the Jehovah's Witness or joined Pentecostal churches. The Dawn Bible Students still exist in Italy, however, and are part of a larger network of independent «Russellite» groups. Sergio Gabrielli (1939-2006) was an important leader of this network and reprinted some of Russell's works (left)

JWs after the War: A Phenomenal Growth

Year	Average Publishers	Memorial Attendance
1946	95	[missing]
1956	3,243	5,790
1966	9,798	19,682
1976	57,255	130,348
1986	134,677	301,009
1996	216,231	391,407

Why the Growth?

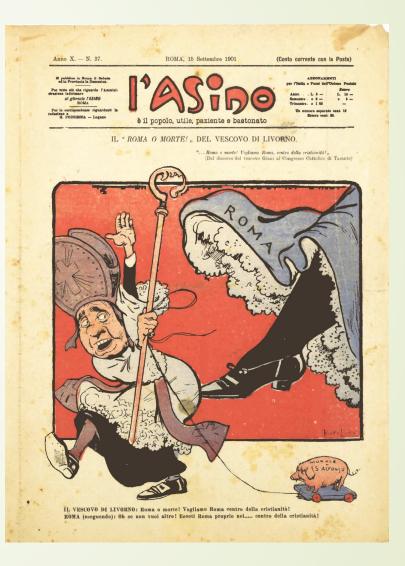


These figures call for an explanation. Opponents insist that success depends from door to door techniques, with theories ranging from aggressive salesmanship to brainwashing. Social scientists, however, know that there is nothing magic in the Witnesses' door to door system and that most conversions come through the usual social networks of friends and acquaintances. And why should these techniques be more successful in Italy than elsewhere?

1. Lack of Competition

A better explanation is that, because of the Catholic Church's opposition to the political unification of Italy, decades of anti-Catholic propaganda (right), and the perception of the Church by the working classes as part of the establishment – all feelings also fueled after World War II by the narrative proposed by the Italian Communist Party, the largest such party in the West –, there was a pool of potential converts to a religion other than Catholicism

And limited competition: the Mormons reopened their Italian missions only in 1966; Pentecostals also took advantage of returned migrants, but their presence was restricted for decades to some regions only



2. Internal Migrations



 Industrialization created in Italy an exodus of Biblical proportions from the South to the North. Jehovah's Witnesses had been historically successful with migrants – including Italian migrants to Northern Europe and the Americas –, offering to them a community away from home. They targeted Southern migrants in the North, particularly in large industrial cities such as Turin, with very good results

3. Between Continuity and Change

Unlike exotic new religious movements, whose success in Italy was limited to some (including Soka Gakkai) and came much later, Jehovah's Witnesses offered to former Catholics a combination of change and continuity. Change corresponded to anticlerical feelings. But there was continuity too, in the Christian imagery and moral teachings. Paradoxically, after Vatican II many Italians believed they had found among the Witnesses the old-time, moralistic religion the Catholic Church was abandoning



21st Century: Growth Slows Down

Year	Average Publishers	Memorial Attendance
1996	216,231	391,407
2006	233,231	427,854
2015	250,277	435,046

Explanations



Building the Mormon Temple in Rome

In the late 20th and in the 21st century, Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy (1) faced aggressive competition from Pentecostals, Mormons, and others; (2) could no longer count on internal migrations, as the economy slowed down and, if anything, former Southern migrants to the North went back home; and (3) were perceived as too conservatives by these younger generations who were dissatisfied with the Catholic Church

Counter-Cult Reactions



Italian Catholic (and mainline Protestant) counter-cultism started by targeting one group only, Jehovah's Witnesses, with hundreds of brochures produced by pioneers such as Monsignor Giovanni Marinelli (1914-2000), the father of Italian counter-cultism. Thousands of stickers inviting Witnesses not to knock at the doors were distributed by Catholic priests and others TUSTYLE



Tatiana ha sempre rispettato le regole imposte dalla sua religione. Ha soffocato la passione per il canto e sopportato perfino il tradimento del marito. Ma quando sua figlia si è ammalata ha capito che doveva ribellarsi a quella specie di setta che le impediva di curare la neonata. Oggi ne è uscita e aiuta gli altri a fare lo stesso testo di Alina Rizzi - foto di Daniele Testa

Ero vittima dei Testimoni di Geova. Ora basta!

e organizzavano la festa più bella

dell'anno e mi sentivo esclusa.

Io non avevo mai addobbato un albero con le palline e le luci

colorate. Non mi era permesso

cantare, ballare né ascoltare la musica che volevo, perché erano

attività considerate immorali.

I miei amici potevano essere solo i figli di altri adepti, non

sottoposti a restrizioni severe e

anche pubblicamente. Se guardo

taciturno, introverso. Sono stata

una ragazza timida e spaventata

indietro, mi vedo come una

bambina dal carattere chiuso.

e perfino dalle cose più semplici Credevo dipendesse da me, dalle mie insicurezze. Oggi invece so che sono stata vittima di regole ferree e irragionevoli, quelle del gruppo religioso cui apparteneva la mia famiglia e quindi anch'io.

SI DEVE RENDER CONTO DI TUTTO Mamma e papà sono stati testimoni di Geova per 40 anni. Ouando

io sono stata cacciata, 13 anni fa, anche loro hanno abbandonato quel credo. Tornare a una vita normale, senza regole assurde contavano niente i miei sentimenti. e giudizi implacabili, non è stato facile: i miei ci avevano creduto Trasgredire significava peccare e, davvero a quell'ideale di fede per i più piccoli, comportava essere e fratellanza, benché comportasse punizioni, verbali e fisiche, eseguite molti sacrifici. Tanti pensano che i Testimoni di Geova che la domenica mattina bussano alla porta delle loro case non abbiano niente di meglio da fare: non sanno che il proselitismo è obbligatorio per giovani e adulti. E non basta dal mondo, dalle persone estranee

Anti-Cult Criticism

Later, when a secular anti-cult movement emerged in Italy, it tried to capitalize on the pre-existing social hostility to Jehovah's Witnesses fueled for decades by Catholic counter-cultism. Italian anticultists focused on the Witnesses much more than their counterparts in other countries. They also advertised the activities of militant apostates and took advantage of some well publicized cases involving the refusal of blood transfusions for minors

Ineffective Propaganda



Counter-cult and anti-cult propaganda did not have a significant impact on the growth of Jehovah's Witnesses. They learned to knock at the door with the anti-Witnesses stickers, claiming they just wanted to discuss the sticker. Courts of law mostly accommodated the Witnesses, particularly on the blood issue, and some of their critics were found guilty of defamation

Conscientious Objection

The main legal problem for the Witnesses in Italy was removed when the law on compulsory military service – that they refused for decades, going routinely to jail - was amended offering non-military alternatives in 1998 and then abolished in 2005



Cuminetti is celebrated as Italy's «first conscientious objector»

Legal Status



Jehovah's Witnesses were legally recognized in Italy first as a branch of a U.S. organization in 1976, then as a domestic denomination in 1986. Their «ministers» can celebrate valid marriages in Italy (with no need of repeating the ceremony in a City Hall) and serve as jail chaplains

Seeking a Concordat



Opposition to the Witnesses achieved, however, one political result. Although the Witnesses do enjoy religious liberty in Italy, they would like to join the eleven Italian denominations (including the Mormons and the Buddhist Union) that entered with the Italian government into the form of concordat called by the Constitution «Intesa» (the name «Concordato» is reserved to the Catholic Church)

Opposition to «Intesa»

«Intese» make the churches partners of the state in various fields and taxpayers can choose to devote 0.8% of their taxes to their church. Two Italian prime ministers, Massimo D'Alema in 2000 and Romano Prodi (right) in 2007, did sign the «Intesa» with the Witnesses, but due to the oppositions the Parliament never scheduled sessions for the needed ratification



Can They Still Grow?



A concordat would certify that in Italy Jehovah's Witnesses are becoming part of the mainline. It would not solve, however, the problem of the slow growth in the 21st century. On the other hand, Italy, once a land of emigration, received from the late 20th century several million immigrants, and Witnesses look at them for their further growth

Foreign-Language Congregations/Groups in Italy

Language	Congregations	Groups
Romanian	84	84
Spanish	93	63
English	44	30
Russian	19	53
Albanian	25	39
Chinese	10	43
Tagalog	19	12

+ other 36 languages other than Italian

In Conclusion





Ultimately, however, growth or stagnation of Jehovah's Witnesses in Italy will not depend on missionary work among immigrants only, but on general trends both in the Italian society and in their organization, where mainstreaming coexists with moments of retrenchment aimed at keeping their distinctive identity



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